1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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829 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man;
609 "he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal
"to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

[241] [222]

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

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either pounded or mashed, is put in broad green corn blades, generally filled in with a ladle, well wrapped up, and baked in the ashes, like the other. They consider this as a very delicate morsel, but to me it is too sweet.

Their *Psindamócan* or *Tassmanáne*, as they call it, is the most nourishing and durable food made out of the Indian corn. The blue sweetish kind is the grain which they prefer for that purpose. They parch it in clean hot ashes, until it bursts, it is then sifted and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good, they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use, they take about a table spoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river or brook, drink water to it. If, however, they have a cup or other small vessel at hand, they put the flour in it and mix it with water, in the proportion of one table spoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food, the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry. Persons who are unacquainted with this diet ought to be careful not to take too much at a time, and not to suffer themselves to be tempted too far by its flavour; more than one or two spoonfuls at most at any one time or at one meal is dangerous; for it is apt to swell in the stomach or bowels, as when heated over a fire.

Their meat they either boil, roast, or broil. Their roasting is done by running a wooden spit through the meat, sharpened at each end, which they place near the fire, and occasionally turn. They broil on clean coals, drawn off from the fire for that purpose. They often laugh at the white hunters, for baking their bread in dirty ashes, and being alike careless of cleanliness when they broil their meat. They are fond of dried venison, pounded in a mortar and dipped in bear's oil. The Delawares, Mohicans, and Shawanos are very particular in their

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choice of meats, and nothing short of the most pressing hunger can induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wild cat, panther, fox, muskrat, wolf, &c. all which I have several times seen the Chippeways feast upon with a seemingly good appetite. The Iroquois are said to have been formerly very dirty in their eating. They dried the entrails of animals without cleaning, or even emptying them of their contents; then cut them into pieces and put them into their pottage, by way of seasoning.* The late Mr. Zeisberger has often related to me how he once mistook for black pepper or some other kind of spice, a certain unpleasant ingredient which he found floating in small grains on the surface of their broth.

Far different in this respect are the Lenape and their kindred tribes, particularly the three which I have named above. They are not only cleanly in their eating, but even delicate, and they will sometimes resist the pressing calls of hunger rather than eat the flesh of those animals which they consider as not being proper food for man. Of this I shall give an instance in the following anecdote.

I was travelling in the spring of 1773, from Muskingum to the Big Beaver, with more than twenty Indians, five of whom were old men and the rest women and children, all (except our guide) strangers to the country, having come but the year before from Wyalusing on the Susquehannah. Having been at one time confined two days by the overflowing of two large creeks, between which we were, we found our provisions at an end. Every man who had a gun was called upon to turn out into the woods, and try to kill something. Their endeavours, however, were to no purpose; the day passed away, and they all, except the well-known *Papunhank*, who had lost himself, returned to camp at night without bringing any thing of the meat kind but a wild cat, which our guide had

* This is not applicable to the Iroquois of the present time.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca.1800) 1819
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262 157 252 shot. The Indians never despair, not even in the worst of times and under the severest trials; when placed in difficult situations they never use discouraging language, but always endeavour to raise their spirits and prevent them from sinking, under the hardships or dangers to which they are exposed. True to this national character, one of our old Indians immediately pronounced this wild cat to be "good, very good eating," and it was immediately ordered to be put on the spit and roasted for our supper. While this was performing, the old Indian endeavoured to divert the company by extolling in a jocular manner the country they had now got into, and where such good things were to be had; to which some one or other of the old men would reply; "all very true." At length, about nine o'clock at night, the call was given by the old cook (for so I now call him) that the meat was done and we might come in to eat. I, who had heard so much in praise of this repast, being greatly pinched with hunger, had kept myself in readiness for this expected call; but seeing nobody rise, and observing much merriment through the camp, I began to suspect that something was the matter, and therefore kept my seat. The night was spent without any body attempting to eat of the wild cat, and in the morning a different call was given by one of the old men, signifying that a large kettle of tea had been made by some of the good women, who invited all to come and take their share of it. Every one obeyed, this call and I went with the rest, the jovial old cook taking the roasted wild cat with him to the mess. The scene was not only very diverting, but brought on an interesting discussion between the men on the propriety or impropriety of eating the flesh of all animals without restriction, some contending that they were all by the will of the great Creator ordained for some use, and therefore put in the power of man; and how were we to know which were intended for our nourishment and which not? The old cook had himself taken that posi-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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262 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things,
157 and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Popunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

The sight of these two men dragging a large deer along was truly joyful to us, as well on account of the recovery of our lost friend, as of the meat that he brought. All felt the cravings of hunger, all were delighted with the certain prospect of immediate relief, yet no boisterous or extraordinary rejoicing took place, but all called out with one voice: *Anischi! Anischi!* we are thankful. The wild cat, which yet remained untouched, was thrown out of the camp, and dismissed by the old cook with these
261 words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"
266 The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons,
[251] furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1. ch. 3.

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"at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth "he found a deer, which he took back with him, and "that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, "and the favourable description he had given them of the "country above and on the earth, their mother, conclu- "ded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly "they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, "&c. That, however, the *Nocharaworsul*, that is, the "*ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in "the ground as before."

So far Mr. Pyrlæus. From these traditions of the Iroquois, and those of the Delawares and Mohicans, it seems to follow, that they must have considered their numbers very small, when they dwelt in the earth; perhaps, no more than one family of each tribe, and that the custom of giving to their tribes the names of particular animals, must have been very ancient. The *ground-hog*, say the Mohawks, would not come out. But who was this hog? Might it not formerly have been the name of one of their tribes, who was made the subject of this fable?

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However ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them is not to be shaken. When I was a boy between twelve and fifteen years of age, I had often heard of white people conversant with the Indians, who at that time would continually come to this place, (Bethlehem) in great numbers, even by hundreds, that the Indians did not eat rabbits, because they thought them infected with the venereal disease, and that whoever ate of their flesh, was sure to take that disorder. Being then myself fond of catching those animals in traps, I asked questions on this subject of several Mohican Indians, who spoke the German language; but though they said nothing about the disease that rabbits were said to be infected with, yet they advised me by no means to eat of their flesh. They gave me no reason whatever to induce me to abstain from

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this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in your country, where they will not fail to make fre- "quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Delaware Technology

Subsistence

At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had ". . . . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Just before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz;"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties ". . . . white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew ". . . black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6]Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179.
[8]Juet, 1909, p. 18.
[9]De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 97; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[10]O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11]Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12]De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 6; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 233.
[13]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14]Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15]Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[16]Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Such old men, accompanying a hunting party, get both meat and skins, for the good hunters will not let them return empty-handed. They have, in general, and the Unami in particular, the custom that when a huntsman has shot a deer, and another Indian joins him or only looks on at a distance, he immediately gives him the whole animal and goes in pursuit of another.[39]

The blowgun was in use among the Munsi by 1824, but was apparently present earlier; it was never of any great economic importance.[41] "Calls" were made to attract deer and turkeys. The deer call or "bleat" was made of cedar and was used primarily during the spring and early summer before the fawns had been weaned.[42] Harrington mentioned that "the deadfall and the 'twitchup' snare seem to have been the most popular varieties of traps."[43] The Delawares were also reported to be excellent stalkers of game and pursued wounded animals until their prey dropped from exhaustion.[44] If a hunter could not at first get within range of a deer he would chase it until he could, this procedure perhaps consuming an entire day.[45] One eighteenth-century author mentioned that deer were hunted by torchlight at night.[46]

Fishing.—Van der Donck said that Delawaran peoples "use all kinds of fish, which they commonly cook without removing the entrails, and snakes, frogs and the like."[47] Specifically, they caught and ate rock fish, shad, yellow perch, trout, eels, catfish, sunfish, sturgeon, and undoubtedly others, from both fresh and salt water. In 1756 two harbor seals were shot and eaten, but this was an unusual incident.[48] Tortoises were caught, and shellfish in large quantities must have been taken, if Skinner was correct in attributing shell mounds of the area to the Delawares.[49] Juet stated that the natives brought out quantities of oysters to trade to the crew of Hudson's Half Moon.[50]

Methods of fishing varied somewhat; Lindestrom described a method in which a stream was dammed when the water was high, so that fish were stranded behind the dam when the water was low. The fish were caught with bare hands or shot with the bow and arrow.[51] De Rasieres said that the Indians around Manhattan caught fish with "a drag-net they themselves knit very neatly, of the wild hemp, from which the women and men spin the thread."[52] Brinton mentioned fishhooks of bone and dried claws of birds, and Pastorius reported the use of hooks.[53] Harrington mentioned several methods of fishing. These may not be aboriginal since they do not appear elsewhere. He stated that fish were stupefied by large quantities of crushed green walnuts thrown into ponds. He also noted spearing and shooting of fish at night by torchlight.[54] Fish

[39] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 91.
[41] Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kinietz, 1940, p. 63; Ketchum, 1865, II: 190 (1798).
[42] Foreman, 1937, p. 107; J. T., F. W.
[43] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.
[44] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 23.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[46] Brickell, 1843, p. 47.
[47] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.
[48] Holm, 1834, p. 48; De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 37.
[49] Holm, 1834, p. 48; Denton, 1845, p. 7; Skinner, 1909, pp. 5-17, 45-48; J. T.
[50] Juet, 1909, p. 20.
[51] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 219; Berlin, 1887, pp. 167-69.
[52] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 105.
[53] Brinton, 1885, p. 52; Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[54] Harrington, 1913, p. 222.

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journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[85] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[86]

Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[87] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[88] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[89] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[90] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[85] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[86] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[87] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[88] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599, agreed on this point.
[89] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 198; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[90] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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In this region they found deer, elk and bear hunting good, as also beaver, fox and raccoon in plenty. The Susquehanna is well stocked with fish. The chief fish are the Rock fish,[53] regarded as one of the best fish, having large scales and often weighing from ten to forty pounds; the Shad[53] or May-fish which in the spring of the year come up the rivers in great numbers, at which time they are caught by the hundreds and thousands with nets made of wild vines; the Yellow Perch,[54] as its name suggests of yellowish color, having sharp prickles along the back, a narrow head and sharp teeth like the pike,[55] which also abounds; the Horn-fish[56] with a long bill like that of a duck, only narrower, having very sharp teeth. This fish is not eaten by the Indians. Further, there are trout[57] in the creeks in great numbers in winter and spring, as also in the Susquehanna. There are large eels[58] and various smaller fish, such as Catfish, Sunfish and others.

In the spring of the year 1765 two seals[59] were shot by the Indians at Wajomick. As the like had never been seen there before, these caused much astonishment among the Indians of that region. Many were summoned to witness the marvel. After they had sufficiently expressed their astonishment, a council was called to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not. An old Indian arose and observed as God had sent them they could not but be good to eat, even though they had not seen such animals before. They, accordingly, prepared for a feast and all who were assembled partook of the seals and found them a palatable dish. These seals had unquestionably come from the sea and had come up the river several hundred miles.

The region under consideration has this peculiarity above the country to the south that it has great swamps. A swamp is the name given to such a place where the sun never shines because of the dense thicket and which even in the middle of summer is always wet and cool. In such places the beech, white pine and spruce grow well. The Six Nations, to the north, are surrounded with such swamps. Hence, one must go a journey of many days through the wilderness before their

[i.e., along the Susquehanna.-Analyst]

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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These grow on very stony ground near the water, where the sunshine is particularly hot. In these parts I have not come across this variety.

Besides, there are mulberries,[96] plums,[96] and wild grapes of three sorts, those growing on high ground[97] or hills being the best; those[98] found in the bottoms are very sour. Crabapples[99] grow in great plenty and the Indians, being very fond of sharp and sour fruit, eat them in abundance.

Of nuts there are found: (1) The well known hazel nut,[100] (2) the hickory nut,[101] found in great plenty in some years and which the Indians gather in large quantities and use not only as they find them — they have a very sweet taste — but also extract from them a milky juice used in different foods and very nourishing. Sometimes they extract an oil by first roasting the nut in the shell under hot ashes and pounding them to a fine mash, which they boil in water. The oil swimming on the surface is skimmed off and preserved for cooking and other purposes. (3) The walnut of two varieties, the white walnut[102] deriving its name from the color of the wood which, strictly speaking, is gray, and the black walnut,[103] of which the wood is dark-brown, sometimes even shading into violet. The latter is very much used by cabinet makers for tables, chests and other things. The nuts, the one variety having a very hard shell, are eaten, but are very oily.

The papa[104] tree, which I have seen nowhere else than along the Ohio, bears a very beautiful fruit, in form and size resembling a middle sized cucumber, of an agreeable smell and taste.

Wild laurel[105] is found in the bottoms in great abundance; the berries are smaller than those found elsewhere, but have about the same taste. Of these, even the whites make use. They grow on bushes, the wood of which has a strong spicy color and taste, used by the Indians for medicine and called by the English, spicewood.[106]

Chestnuts[107] are very plentiful in some years. The Indians gather them and prepare various dishes with them. A larger variety of chestnuts[108] is native to these parts, but these are not fit to eat.

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Of roots, wild potatoes[108] and wild parsnips are found. Bread is baked of both, which one may be driven to eat by pangs of hunger. The Indians look for both roots when famine threatens and the supply of corn runs low, sometimes sustaining life with them for a considerable period.

A kind of bean, called by the Indians earth-bean, because it grows close to the ground, is also found and tastes when boiled, like the chestnut.

Wild citrons[109] or May apples, grow on a stalk not over a foot high. The Indians enjoy eating the fruit, which has a sour but pleasant taste. The roots are a powerful poison which, who eats, dies in a few hours' time unless promptly given an emetic.

Watermelons and muskmelons, which grow by culture only, are very refreshing in summer. Of some watermelons the meat is yellow and the seeds black; of others the meat and seeds red.

The forests contain mainly oak trees; other kinds of trees are, however, also found. They are not dense, but generally sufficiently open to allow comfortable passage on foot or horseback. There are five varieties of oak, white-oak,[110a] black-oak,[110b] red-oak,[110c] Spanish-oak,[110d] and swamp-oak.[110e] The red-oak has very narrow, small leaves and bears little colored acorns, such as I have seen nowhere else. Besides these, hickory trees of three sorts,[111] ash,[112] white and red beech,[113] sassafras,[114] in some places very thick, poplar[115] and chestnut[116] are the kinds generally found on high lying land. In the bottoms there are walnut, linden,[117] maple,[118] water-beech,[119] that grow near to the water and often attain great height and girth, hawthorne[120] and crab-apple.[121]

The Hoop-ash,[122] a little known tree and found only in this region, has this name because barral-hoops are made of the wood. It grows in the bottoms and is of little use otherwise, as the wood easily rots.

The Honey-locust[123] is likewise found in the bottoms. This tree but little resembles the locust of Pensilvanien, except that there is some similarity in foliage, though the leaves are smaller and finer. The trunks of the thickest trees are two feet in diameter on the average. The trunk is covered with thorns that stand straight out, are about six inches long and very sharp.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 by men. The animals are of a dark brown color, have short legs and broad feet, adapted to swimming and armed with short claws. The tail is broad and flat. At the end it is broadest, smooth, without any hair, and looks as though covered with fish scales. The tail furnishes the best flesh and is much liked by the Indians. It has an appearance different from the rest [439] of the animal's flesh, being more like fish meat. As the skins always bring a good price, the Indians hunt these animals constantly.

The opossum is about as large as a small dog, of grayish white color and carnivorous.[161] If it finds a dead deer, it strikes into the carcass, lives there and devours it gradually. It climbs the trees and sleeps hanging to a branch by its tail,[162] which is bare of hair and quite round. Should one approach it unawares, it never attempts to escape but lies down as dead and makes no motion, though handled and turned. If one leaves it, the animal watches and creeps off slyly as soon as the enemy has retired some distance. It is not able to run swiftly. The female has a bag under her belly, in which she carries her young until they are too large for this receptacle, when they follow the mother. If she meets with a fallen tree in her passage, she either walks around or lifts her young, one by one, over the trunk and then proceeds on her journey. The flesh of the crea- [262] ture tastes like pork and is eaten by the English, rarely by the Indians.

The pole-cat[163] has white and black markings, a gentle and mild countenance. It goes out of the way for no one, and whoever approaches too near is ill rewarded for his curiosity. It has a special gland containing a fluid intolerably foetid. If one approaches too closely, the fluid is discharged and thrown in all directions with the tail. The offensive odor no one can bear and one is ready enough to get away. If one's person or clothes has been infected by the moisture, it is necessary to bathe and change before returning into company. Even dogs, when they kill the animal, find the stench unbearable. Yet the flesh [262] of the creature is eaten by the Indians. It is said to be very good and not to have any offensive odor.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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The porcupine[164] is not found along the Muskingum, seldom seen along the Ohio to the north, but frequently in the country of the Mingoes. The Indians eat its flesh, which tastes like pork, with great relish. It climbs the trees nimbly and has its home in hollow trees. The body is heavier than that of the fox. On the back the animal has whitish-brown quills, the length of a finger. These the squaws, particularly among the Mingoes, color red and use as needles to ornament their moccasins, pouches, in which tobacco and pipes are carried, and other things. As it cannot run swiftly, when anyone approaches, the animal turns its back, which is full of quills, toward the enemy, unless it is possible to get up a tree. Hence, they are easily killed. Dogs that attack the creature, suffer terribly and usually die, unless all the quills they have gotten into their bodies are removed, which is not easily accomplished, as many of them break off.

There is a small animal in the Mingoe country, called the marten,[165] concerning which I have been told that it probably belongs to the sable tribe. Though but small animals, their skins are of great value. The Indians catch them in wooden traps, using meat as a bait. The skins are sold to the whites.

I have already referred to the moose[166] that are to be found further north, of which I have seen nothing but the horns. The latter differ from those of the elk in that the prongs are broad and round. The Indians declare that these are equal in size to a horse. They have cloven hoofs and nostrils large enough to put a hand in. As I have no certain knowledge of these animals and have never even in Europe seen any nor have ever had a satisfactory description, I will not definitely declare that these are the animals they speak of, though I should be at a loss to know what other animals they refer to.

The muskrat,[167] able to live in or out of the water, is in many respects most like the beaver. Its tail is not broad as that of the beaver, but oval-shaped. Their dwellings are in the water, but so arranged that they can, according to inclination, be in the water or in a dry place. A great quantity of odorous matter is found in the body of this animal. The odor is unpleasant when too strong, but a little of it is agreeable. In the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 settlements of the white people the muskrat does much damage to mill-dams by its burrowing.

There are three kinds of squirrels, the black,[168] the grey,[169] and the red. The black are most commonly found, the grey are the largest and the red the smallest in size. Their flesh is [862] tender, and eaten by the Indians in case of sickness or when they are very hungry for meat.

The ground squirrel[170] lives under the ground and is somewhat smaller than a common rat. They do great damage in the fields of the Indians, not only digging out the corn when it has been planted, but also pumpkin and melon seed. When the Indian corn is ripe, they lay in good stores of it for the winter. They stuff their cheeks full of it and then carry it to their storehouses.

The groundhog[171] also has its dwelling under ground. It is about the size of a large domestic cat, though heavier. It lives on grass and is, also, very fond of melons and pumpkins. It chews the cud.[172] Its feet are armed with claws. When [262] pursued and unable to reach its hole, the animal will climb a tree. The flesh is toothsome and eaten by the Indians.

There is, also, a very large variety of wild cat,[173] other than the kind already mentioned. This is as large as a dog. It is very savage, even attacking a deer and killing it.

The hare[174] in these parts is small and not found in large numbers, being pursued by birds and beasts of prey. Towards the north I have seen them of the same size as those in Europe. In that region some are found with a snow white fur.[175] They dwell in hollow trees.

White deer are seldom seen in these parts.[176] These have generally in summer some red and in winter some gray spots. [835] The Indians call a white deer the king of the deer and believe that the rest flock about and follow him.[177]

Wolves are very numerous, most are gray, some are almost black. As their skins serve no useful purpose and are not much [224] valued, the Indians do not pursue them, unless they catch them tearing skins or devouring meat they have carefully laid away. Sometimes the wolves break into their hunting huts and do much damage. They rarely attack men, never when there are deer

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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to pursue. The latter they attack in summer or winter, never stopping pursuit until a victim has been captured. Occasionally the deer save themselves in creeks and rivers, swimming a great distance down stream, so that it is impossible for the wolves to trace them. When a wolf has caught a deer and killed it, it will not at once consume the flesh, but go to the highest hill nearby and call its comrades, by howling. When these have assembled they devour the deer together. 136

Wild geese[178] appear here in spring and autumn. Some remain during the winter, others during the summer, the latter hatching their young in this region. Most of them remain long in this country, passing toward winter into a warmer latitude, toward summer to the north, where they build in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes and return in autumn with their young.

Wild ducks are birds of passage like the geese, but there are some varieties that stay during the summer season. One kind, called the tree duck, builds its nest in hollow trees, either hanging over the water or near to it.[179] When the young are hatched, they are thrown into the water and taken elsewhere. The male bird is the most beautiful of the water-fowls and very good to eat.

Another variety, that also has its nest here, is the sheldrake.[180] This has a narrow bill, armed with teeth. They live on fish, their flesh having the taste of fish. Indians rarely use them for food, though the flesh of some is very palatable.[181] 262

The crane is the largest of the birds of these parts.[182] Standing on its long legs and stretching its neck upwards, it is as tall as a man. Its body is proportionately heavy. When hit by a shot and only wounded, it attacks its pursuer and has great power in striking with its wings. It is gray in color, has a sharply pointed bill and its feet are formed like those of the turkey. This bird is commonly found upon large plains or near to rivers. Their flesh is dark, rather tough and seldom eaten by the Indians. Their trumpeting may be heard a considerable distance.

Wild swans[183] are quite like the domestic birds, I have seen in Holland, quite white and of the same size. The Indians 262

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136 declare that their flesh tastes like that of the bear, of which [262] they are particularly fond, and is often so fat that pieces may be cut from the flesh.

Wild turkeys[185] may be seen in the fall in flocks numbering hundreds. In the summer they disperse in the woods, this being the time for hatching the young. In winter their plumage is of a shining black, with white spots on the wings; in summer it changes to a light brown. When the time comes for laying [222] the eggs, the Indians seek them, as they are very fond of them.

Pheasants are not valued by the Indians, though their flesh [262] is palatable.[186] They fall victims, however, to birds of prey. Were it not for the birds of prey the woods would swarm with them, for the hen lays above twenty eggs at one time.

Heath-grouse, found here also, are a little larger than the pheasants.[188] They are not valued by the Indians any more than the pheasants. In the winter the latter shelter themselves from the birds by plunging, when pursued, into the snow, often running a considerable distance from one place to another under the snow, thus escaping their foes.

The wild pigeon[187] is of an ash-gray color, the male being distinguished by a red breast. In some years in fall, or even in spring, they flock together in such numbers that the air is darkened by their flight. Three years ago they appeared in such great numbers that the ground under their roosting-place was covered with their dung above a foot high, during one night. [223] The Indians went out, killed them with sticks and came home loaded. At such a time the noise the pigeons make is such that it is difficult for people near them to hear or understand each other. They do not always gather in such numbers in one place, often scattering over the great forests.

The turtle-doves are smaller than the pigeons and are always found in pairs.[188]

Partridges are small, neatly formed birds.[189] In the fall and winter they fly in broods. In the settlements they like to remain near the plantations, as they find the food they like in the fields. The flesh is tender and of a fine flavor. They are favorites with all people, being innocent and harmless birds.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 Another variety of wood-pecker is very small, is spotted and is much pursued by birds of prey, especially the hawk. Occasionally, the wood-pecker is able to defend himself against his enemies, it having happened that this bird when attacked, has thrust its bill into the head of the pursuer so that the latter fell dead.

The yellow wood-pecker,[198] so called because of its yellow wings, also climbs up and down the trees in search of food, with its head turned upward or downward.

A few green parrots[199] are seen in the woods here in summer. Further south they may be found in great numbers.

The loon[200] is a water bird about the size of a goose and is heavily feathered. It is spotted black and white, lives on fish and has a pointed bill. It cannot walk on land, as its feet are too far back, but is a strong swimmer. It can swim a considerable distance under the water, before rising to the surface, especially if it is being fired upon. Often the Indians are obliged to shoot a number of times before they hit the bird, for it is noted for its swiftness in diving, as well as for its swimming. It is not eatable, but the Indians make pouches of its skin, which is taken off whole, large enough to hold pipe, tobacco, flint, steel and knife.

[223]

[262 415]

There are two other birds of prey among those that fish, the one larger than the eagle[201] the other a small bird[202] that makes its nest on the ground along steep banks of creeks or rivers, where it makes a hole just large enough to slip into.

The heron[203] has long legs, great wings and a lean body.

There are two kinds of owls. The larger[204] is heard very much in the woods at night.

Crows[205] do much damage on the plantations, especially in the cornfields, both when the corn is planted and when it is ripe.

The Turkey Posser[206] has a head like a turkey, without feathers. It lives on carrion. The raven[207] is also a scavenger and at the same time a bird of prey, often attacking chickens. The raven makes good use of the meat that Indians leave in the woods.

The hoopoe[208] is fawn colored on the back and has a brown-

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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136 armed with sharp teeth, almost like the bill of a duck. It has scales. The Indians do not use it for food.

7) Another kind[238] resembles the catfish very much. It has no scales. This also has a broad, plain beak like the bill of a goose, almost the length of a hand. This it uses to dig in sand or slime in search of food. The mouth opens below.

8) The white perch[239] is short and broad. It has scales and is good to eat.

9) The yellow perch[240] is not broad, but longer than the last named, has prickly fins and sharp teeth like those of a pike. It has a yellowish appearance and is one of the most palatable of fishes.

10) Eels are rarely found.[241]

11) There is an other variety of fish,[242] or whatever one may call it, resembling a small catfish, but having four short legs. It has a wide mouth and is about a foot and a half in length. The fins are short.

136 The river tortoise[243] of these parts is a species different from that found in Pensilvanien, which has a hard shell. The 225 shell of this is quite soft and its head small and pointed, like 262 that of a sea tortoise. The Indians shoot them, for they are not easily caught in any other way, as they seldom venture out of the water upon the banks of the river. The Indians are very fond of the flesh and of the eggs, which the animals lay in the sand on islands.

There is another variety of land tortoise[244] in these parts which has a hard shell, is small and very prettily marked. Flesh is also eaten.

136 Two varieties of shellfish[245] are found as well. One resembles the clams found along the seacoast, the inside of the shell being violet, shading to red; the other has a larger shell, which is white inside. Some speciments of smaller varieties[246] are also found.

Snails are likewise found. From one variety spring, it is believed, the many large gad-flies, which in the summer, in the months of July and August, worry the cattle to such an extent that during the day they cannot graze in the forest. During these two months both cattle and horses make for shelter every

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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poorly built, and remains there two or three days, food being taken to her. When the time is over they bathe and wash their clothes and are allowed to return to their husbands. During the menstrual period, they are not permitted to do any cooking or domestic work. None will eat what a woman in this condition prepares, for food prepared under such circumstances is said to be unwholesome and to cause pain in the abdomen. The women do not go into company, but keep to their huts until their time is over. Hence, it occasionally happens that a woman engaged in baking will leave everything and go to her hut. This custom does not obtain among the Mingoes; their women continue their usual work and remain in the house.

In the wooing of a bride, custom demands that if an Indian would proceed honorably and at the same time have assurance that his wife when married will remain with him, he first sends a present of blankets, strouds, linen and whatever else the Indians commonly use for clothing and perhaps a few belts or fathoms of wampum. If he has no cloth, wampum alone will do. These things he gives to an Indian to whom he has declared his purpose and who hands them to a friend of the person fixed upon, speaks for him and presses his suit. Thereupon, the friends assemble, examine the present, propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides agreeably to the wish of her parents and relations. The suitor is then informed that his proposal has been accepted. If it is decided to decline the proposal, the present is simply returned and understood to be a friendly negative. In case the match is agreeable, the girl is led to the dwelling of the groom, without further ceremony. After the bride has joined her husband, the things constituting the present are divided among the friends and the belts of wampum cut and a piece given to each. The friends return the civility by a present of Indian corn, beans, kettles, dishes, spoons, sieves, baskets, hatchets, brought in solemn procession into the hut of the newly married couple. Commonly, the latter lodge in a friend's house until they can erect a dwelling of their own.

This custom still obtains among the Indians. Within the last years, however, disorderly living and evil have become so common that faith is not kept and many of the usages, that were

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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the command of the captains, especially in times of war, and do nothing without their consent. They neither leave the troop nor go hunting, as they know that their life and honor in a great measure depends upon the prudent conduct of their captains, and they obey them with pleasure. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the chiefs are present, a hog, if procurable, being killed for the occasion. After the feast the captain and his people begin the war dance and continue till daybreak when they are quite hoarse and weary. Sometimes they dance in turn, each taking the head of the hog in his hand; again all dance together. Spectators are admitted, and may even join in the dance. Sometimes instead of a hog a couple of dogs are killed, not because dog's flesh is a delicacy, for the Indian dogs are very lean, but because it is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war and murder. I have even seen women partake of this feast, eating the dog's flesh with great greediness. I have steadily and courteously refused to partake when invited. The war dance having been completed they march out on the following day. The captain leads and his men follow in single file. When they reach the end of the street, they fire their pieces one after another and the captain begins the war song. As both their friends and the women generally accompany them to the first night's encampment, they halt about two or three miles from the town, dance the war dance once more, and the day following begin the march proper.

As they commonly have a long and tedious journey into the enemies' land their provisions are soon exhausted. They are then obliged to spend some days in hunting. No one enjoys any precedence during the march, not even the captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, even if each man should get only a mouthful of bread or spoonful of meat. When they reach Indian towns with which they are at peace provisions are given them. They never go out in large parties but usually in small companies of ten or twenty, in order that they may not suffer so much for want of provisions. The captain is very attentive to the condition of his troop being answerable for all his men. If but a few are weary he orders all to halt till they

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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Bear and that woman, Small Person, to forget their troubles.[19] Because, Grandmother, it has been many years that they have been together. Again, Grandmother, I implore you because it is right that they should love each other henceforth. If you accept my plea, in two days from this time the woman will go back."

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The second variety of magical root, termed "pull up," is employed in the following manner. The informant's maternal grandfather transferred to him the secret of such a medicine gift in order to control human beings or animals. Although the root is intended primarily for use in hunting, it could also be employed to coerce or in general, influence people favorably. I was unable to secure a specimen of this "rare" plant for scientific identification.[20] Wi·tapanóxwe describes the plant root as having "five prongs." After securing several of the plants, the roots are prepared by cleansing them thoroughly in running water, to the accompaniment of songs and prayers. Three branches of the plant root are then broken off and another, taken from the root of a plant of the same species, attached to the remaining two, to make three. In this connection it may be noted that the emphasis upon the number three in this and the previously decribed love charm represents a symbolism for which the informant could offer no explanation.

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In use, a small quantity of the prepared root is chewed three times a day. The juice resulting from the first mastication is rubbed on the hair, that from the second and third is swallowed. Such a procedure will bring about the desired result in a short time. To lure game animals some of the root is chewed while hunting. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident of holding some of these roots in his hand while singing his medicine song, and thus luring a squirrel very close to him. The root is so powerful that if an excessive amount of juice is swallowed, the person's mind will become affected.

Food Taboos

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After he has diagnosed the case, the practitioner prescribes a curative diet[21] for the patient, the food restrictions being determined by the

[19] "Being in trouble."

[20] This is probably due to the supposed magical properties attributed to this plant, making it dangerous, according to Delaware belief, for persons other than practitioners to handle it. This applies to all other plants used for magical purposes.

[21] Barber (1856, p. 538) quotes the following from William Penn's letters: ". . . if they eat flesh it must be from the female of any creature." Also see Zeisberger, *op. cit.* p. 24.

nature of the disease. The flesh of animals and fowl is excluded from the diet and in the case of fever, red or fox squirrel flesh is not eaten. This food taboo is known to the Delaware by a native word meaning "makes you sick." Corn hominy, however, is administered in most cases, as it is considered to be a nourishing food.

In the case of childbirth, salt is not eaten for ten days. Onions are given the mother to produce milk, but care must be taken not to use a quantity such as to cause nausea for the child and mother.

During the catamenial period a woman is not allowed to prepared food nor taken an active part in domestic affairs.[33] The separate dishes assigned to her at that time, may only be used by her husband. Food cooked by such a woman would produce tuberculosis in others in a short time. A term translated as "gives dirty food," is applied to such a practice and refers to the resultant poisonous effects. During her periodic isolation a woman herbalist must refrain from preparing remedies or participating in any of the ceremonies.

Divinatory Curing Practices

Certain acts of a divinatory nature are performed upon selection and preparation of plants, roots, and bark employed in making medicine. Only plants that are clean and well developed, with the roots free from knotty growths, are taken. When seeking bark, the medicine gatherer selects a sturdy, well-formed tree for the purpose. The bark growing on the east side of a tree is preferred for its greater strength-giving properties received from the morning sun.

In gathering medicinal supplies, the materials are inspected for a clue as to the course of the treatment. Thus, if roots appear rough and knotty, the patient will be difficult to cure; if clean and well-formed, it will be an easy task to restore his health. Another practice is to place some crushed leaves or roots in running water. If the substance sinks to the bottom of the stream, the patient for whom it is prepared, will die; if it floats, a speedy recovery is assured.

When all other remedies have failed, an emergency medicine is sometimes made from scrapings of deer antler. During its preparation a prayer is offered to the animal from which the antler was obtained. Wi·tapanóxwe related an incident in which a trial was made by means

[33] The puberty ceremony for young girls and the periodic isolation of women is described by Zeisberger, *ibid*, pp. 75-77.

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27. Angelica *(Angelica atropurpurea)*, "to mix with smoking (tobacco)." Root used for stomach disorders; seeds sometimes mixed with smoking tobacco.

28. Anise *(Pimpinella anisum)*. Root used as a cathartic and stomach tonic.

29. Yellow Jasmine *(Gelsemium sempervirens)*, "yellow root." Root used as blood purifier.

30. The root of Staghorn Sumac *(Rhus typhina)*, "Cherokee sumac" is combined with that of "horse-hobble weed" or purple cone-flower *(Brauneria purpurea)* as a remedy for venereal disease. The patient should refrain from eating sour fruit and greasy foods. Water should be taken freely and often. [262]

31. Boneset *(Eupatorium perfoliatum)*. The root and occasionally the leaves are infused as a treatment for chills and fever.

32. Goldenrod *(Solidago juncea)*. The green leaves are chewed or infused to cure diarrhea. Also used to reduce fever.

33. Wintergreen *(Gaultheria procumbens)*. Entire plant is compounded with poke root, mullein leaves, wild cherry bark, and black cohosh bark *(Sp.?)* to make a tonic. Beneficial also for rheumatism.

34. Blackberry *(Rubus nigrobaccus)*. The vine is combined with wild cherry bark to cure dysentery.

35. Dock *(Rumex obtusifolius* and *R. crispus)*, "curly leaf." Root used as a blood purifier and remedy for jaundice.

36. Black Snakeroot *(Cimicifuga racemosa)*, stone root *(Collinsonia?)*, and root of elecampane *(Inula helenium)* are compounded to make a tonic.

37. Golden Aster *(Chrysopsis mariana)*. Tea made from the root to quiet infants. Also acts as tonic for sickly children.

38. "Turkey Foot" *(Sp.?)*, "leaves like turkey foot." Plant tip and root infused as a tea for weak women.

39. Prairie Moss *(Sp.?)*. Leaves used as poultice for sore throat. Plant infused as tea, called "tonsillitis medicine."

40. Cardinal Flower *(Lobelia cardinalis)*. An important plant for the Delaware herbalist. Tea made from the root used for typhoid. Administered in small quantities because of its strength.

41. Sage Willow or "red root" *(Salix tristis)*. Contains valuable medicinal properties of importance to Delaware herbalists. Tea

The Dog as a Vicar of Children

231 751 854 Upon the birth of a Delaware child, it was given a pet [16] to serve as the guardian of its health. If there was sickness about, the Delaware believed that it would be visited upon the dog instead of its little master. The animal was thought to say, "I am only a dog, the child is more precious." A small bag containing charcoal was tied around the pet animal's neck by the child's parents. Frequently they would talk to the dog. If the animal died, it was buried and the child given another pet. However, if the child fell sick and died, a release ceremony was performed [17] by placing a string of wampum about its neck, thus freeing the animal.[18]

Notes on Pregnancy and Child-birth

843 262 784 The prospective mother is advised to eat sparingly. Sour foods should not be eaten during the final stage of pregnancy as they are believed to cause contraction of the muscles. Onions and cabbage are also excluded from the diet. Salt is forbidden both before and after pregnancy, as it is thought to stop the flow of blood. Lifting heavy objects should be avoided during pregnancy and for a period of a month after delivery. A pregnant woman should not gaze at a deformed person or make fun of him, as it might affect her child. Care is also taken to avoid being frightened by dogs and other animals.

844 The woman is usually attended by a midwife who is given gifts of calico, tobacco, etc., from the woman's husband. To women over thirty years of age, a special medicine is given to shorten the period of labor.[19] The delivery is made in a kneeling position. Immediately after, a tea made from "pleurisy root" is administered. The navel cord is cut off about one and a half inches from the body. A piece of lead about two inches in diameter is bound to the body over the navel by a cloth. This bandage is kept in place until healing is complete, to avoid protrusion of the navel.

845 In case of still-birth, special treatment is given the mother. Still-birth is believed due to the child being hurt. "The child-killing sickness of women is hard to overcome." Twins are believed to have been con-

[16] Known by a term meaning "pet given child."

[17] See also p. 67 for release of a bear.

[18] As dictated by Wi·tapanóxwe.

[19] "The women know of certain medicines," according to Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 56), "which usually act quickly in case of hard labor, which sometimes occurs, though not frequently."

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw.

A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather.

To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one.

Maize

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize *(Zea mays)* stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington *(op. cit.,* pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b., pp. 443-444.

262 Spirit Beings. Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 139) referred to Indian corn as
173 the "wife of the Indian," and, in describing certain ceremonial rites, stated that they offered bear's flesh as a sacrifice to the corn. He also said that corn was offered ceremonially to the deer and bear. Apparently, Harrington (*ibid.,* pp. 70, 195) did not learn the details of this Corn-Spirit rite but the plant was, however, mentioned as a guardian spirit, Mother Corn. There is an interesting ceremony recorded by Dr. Speck [3] which the Delaware held to propitiate the spirit of Mother Corn whom they considered to hold protection over all vegetation. It is related that many years ago the corn crops began to decrease, so that people became alarmed. The leading men of the tribe met and agreed that to avert a famine, a ceremony must be performed to appease the Maize Spirit. It was feared that she had become displeased and intended to abandon her children, the Delaware. In this way the Corn Harvest Rite originated and the performance of its ritual made the occasion of a festival.

262 Corn also figured in the ceremonial diet of the participants of the
252 Big House Ceremony. Dr. Speck (1931, p. 73) notes that corn flour and hominy were prepared and served by women attendants.[4] These foods were prepared in wooden mortars kept expressly for ceremonial use.[5] As was previously stated, corn gruel or hominy is considered to be the proper food for sick or convalescing persons.[6]

Indian corn of the variegated variety is known as "common" or "original corn" [7] Another variety, called "hollow corn," is ground into flour for use in making bread.

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[3] 1937a, pp. 79-90. In addition to the Corn Harvest rite and Corn Famine text, Dr. Speck has an account of the Vegetation Ceremony now performed bi-annually in the spring and fall. These gatherings are now called "Bread Dances" and in addition to the performance of a ritual, afford an occasion for recreation. Both men and women take part.

[4] The three men and three women who are responsible for the ceremonial equipment and assist in a ceremonial role in the nightly performances during the period of worship in the Big House. (Speck, 1931, pp. 71, 75.)

[171] [5] A similar observance has been recorded for the Mohegan of Connecticut and the Indians of Wampanoag extraction at Gay Head, Mass. See Tantaquidgeon, 1930, pp. 5-7.

[6] See Diet, p. 14.

[171] [7] I have observed that my own group at Mohegan, Conn., and the people at Gay Head, Mass., regard varied-colored corn to be the original variety and value it very highly.

and used in different ways. It may be eaten with milk and brown sugar or with any kind of meat grease. A little salt may be added for additional flavor. 252

Various kinds of nut meats are added to cooked hominy to make a dish known as "nut hominy." Hominy and chopped meat (beef, pork or other fresh meat) are cooked together and then allowed to stand until sour. After hickory nuts are added to this mixture, the result is called "soured nut" hominy.

Hulled corn is made by boiling dried corn in a strong liquid, made alkaline by the addition of hard wood ashes. This process of preparation is long and arduous, since after hours of steady boiling it requires many washings in clear, cold water to rinse the lye from the loose hulls. This food may be eaten with milk and sugar, fried with potatoes in pork fat, combined with fresh or dried meat for stew, or with beans for succotash.

Wild Vegetable Foods

Long ago fruits and berries were preserved by drying, this practice giving way in later times to canning and the manufacture of jelly and jam. Dried fruit are prepared to eat in a number of ways. Grapes are boiled, and the resulting liquid thickened by the addition of corn meal, flour, or hominy grits. A boiled pudding is composed of dough made of cornmeal and flour, or flour only, to which any variety of berry, except strawberries, may be added. This dough is then placed in a cloth bag and boiled. When ripe, persimmons are mashed and spread on a cloth to dry for use in a bread called "persimmon bread." With few exceptions all of the fruits and berries mentioned are made into pies, puddings, preserves, fruit butters, and jams. 222 251 252

The various varieties of nuts are gathered in large quantities and stored away for future use. These provide a nourishing supplement to the remainder of natural food stuffs. Nuts are eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and frequently incorporated in other types of food. Edible acorns are usually roasted.

With the introduction and increased use of European food products, the necessity arose among the Delaware of fitting them into their own linguistic configuration, if the foreign terms themselves were not taken over. Like so many primitive groups, the Delaware came to apply native terms of a descriptive nature to the majority of elements foreign to their culture. Many of these have been retained to the 196 262 177

177
196 present day. Thus, for example, the Delaware term for the cocoanut
262 is "water hickory nut."

"Indian Potato" or Ground Nut *(Apios tuberosa)*, "wild potato."
222 The tuberous roots are gathered in large quantities and stored for
252 winter use. They are not considered good after sprouting. The roots are either boiled and eaten as the cultivated potato, or dried and ground into flour used for making bread. In recent times the ground nut has not grown abundantly in the Delaware habitat, and is now considered a rare delicacy.

Sorrel *(Rumex acetosella)*, "sour." This plant, prepared much like rhubarb, is used as a filling for pies.

Onion *(Sp.?)*. Of the different varieties of wild onions, three are regarded by the Delaware as being edible. The one most commonly gathered for use is the "buttonseed." These are dried and prepared by frying, or boiling, or are added to flavor stews and soups. Wild onions are also cooked in grease to which eggs are added.

A species of mushroom *(Agaricus campestris)*, "tripe form," is fried in hot fat, or salted and boiled.

Certain plants are considered to be healthful foods, especially in spring, when people were in need of the medicinal substances present in them. The practice of seeking the first green plant shoots in early spring is not peculiar to the Delaware alone, but is characteristic of other Eastern Algonkian peoples. Such food is called "greens" or "plant tops." The young shoots are usually picked and cooked separately, or mixed with several other plants. In both cases the "greens" are parboiled in water, and then cooked with meat. Among such plants may be mentioned dandelion, milkweed, poke, lamb's quarters, mustard, dock, and watercress.

Animal Foods

825 Wild animals, as pointed out by F. G. Speck (1931, pp. 28-29), are
224 in general considered to exist in clan relationship with humans. The latter are said to be "kings among animals." Clean, pure animals of the forests are referred to in terms of human relationship and their spirits must be propitiated before they can be sought for food. If the supernaturals are appeased through sacrifices, the animals will allow themselves to be taken, but if the proper ceremonies are not carried out, they can never be approached by humans. Therefore a hunter before starting out, is obliged to pray and sacrifice tobacco, and also if he should dream of seeing game during the hunt. The Delaware "sharing-feast"

described by Zeisberger, has previously been referred to (p. 47). Special medicine lures for hunting are also prepared by the hunter.

The Delaware consider the bear and the deer to be the greatest of all animals. The bear is also called "Our Grandfather." Both animals are considered closely akin to the Indian, but the Delaware believe that the bear has the most human-like traits. The antelope, a creature of the later Delaware environment, is regarded as a sacred, pure animal. Of the water animals, the otter is regarded as supernaturally the most powerful.

During the chase, the hunter is careful not to unduly excite the game pursued, since the flesh of such an animal is apt to cause illness when eaten. The same treatment holds for the capture and killing of domestic animals and fowl. Formerly bison, bear, deer, otter, beaver, the smaller animals, and wild fowl provided meat for the Delaware diet. In the latter period squirrels, rabbits, and domestic animals replaced the increasingly rare, larger species.

After an animal was killed, all parts of it were utilized; the flesh for food; the hide for shelter, clothing, robes, and bags; the bones for implements, and the teeth for ornaments, etc. The hide was removed by the hunter forcing his fist between it and the flesh, thus working around the body until the hide was loose. The use of a sharp instrument for this purpose, would, it was claimed, cut and thus spoil the hide. All fat from the bison, bear, deer, and domestic animals was saved and stored in a rawhide container. The intestines were cleaned, filled with blood or meat, and cooked. The flesh of the larger animals was usually roasted. A fire was built in a pit and the carcass placed upon a scaffold above it. A slow fire was kept burning, over which the meat was turned until it was thoroughly cooked.

Meat was preserved in one of two ways—by smoke-drying or immersing it in grease. In drying, thin slices were suspended over a slow fire. In the latter process alternate layers of partially cooked meat and hot lard were placed in a large earthen crock until filled. Slippery elm bark, cinnamon, and allspice were added to the grease for flavor.

Stews and soups were made of fresh meat, to which hominy or corn meal dumplings were added. The flesh of small animals, from which the scent glands had been removed, were also preserved by smoke-drying. If a deer, or other animal, was killed during the mating season, the animal's testicles were immediately removed. An Indian hunter usually killed only male animals.

Fish were fried or cooked in a stew or soup. Formerly fish were preserved by drying.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

	Botanical Name	Common Name
222	1. *Achillea millefolium*	Yarrow
262	2. *Acorus calamus*	Sweet Flag
278		
824	3. *Aesculus glabra*	Buckeye
	4. *Agaricus campestris*	Mushroom
	5. *Allium canadense*	Wild Onion (small)
	6. *Amaranthus retroflexus*	Pigweed
	7. *Ambrosia artemisiaefolia*	Ragweed
	8. *Anaphalis margaritacea*	Pearly-everlasting
	9. *Angelica atropurpurea*	Angelica
	10. *Apios tuberosa*	Indian Potato, Groundnut
	11. *Apocynum cannabinum*	Indian Hemp
	12. *Aralia nudicaulis*	Sarsaparilla
	13. *Arctium minus*	Burdock
	14. *Aristolochia serpentaria*	Virginia Snakeroot
	15. *Artemisia frigida*	Wild Sage
	16. *Asclepias (5 species)*	Milkweed
	17. *Asclepias tuberosa*	Butterfly Weed
	18. *Baptisia tinctoria*	False Indigo
	19. *Betula lutea*	Yellow Birch
	20. *Brassica nigra*	Black Mustard
	21. *Brauneria purpurea*	Purple Cone-flower, "Horse-hobble weed"
	22. *Carya cordiformis*	Bitternut Hickory
	23. *Carya ovata*	Shell Bark Hickory
	24. *Carya glabra*	Pignut
	25. *Castanea pumila*	Chinquapin
	26. *Cercis canadensis*	Redbud
	27. *Chimaphila umbellata*	Pipsissewa
	28. *Chrysopis mariana*	Golden Aster
	29. *Cimicifuga racemosa*	Black Snakeroot
	30. *Cirsium lanceolatum*	Bull Thistle
	31. *Cornus canadensis*	Bunchberry
	32. *Cornus florida*	Dogwood
	33. *Corylus americana*	Hazelnut
	34. *Crotolaria saggitalis*	Rattle Box
	35. *Datura stramonium*	Jimson Weed

THE OKLAHOMA DELAWARE

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (liver and kidneys)	Entire plant	Simple
Medicine (cold, stomach-ache, suppressed menses)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poultice; utility fish poison)	Nut pulverized	Simple
Food		
Food		
Food	Use with others as greens	
Medicine (blood poisoning preventative)	Entire plant as poultice	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach)	Root	Simple
Food	Root	
Mats		
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (ceremonial)	Leaves chewed	
Medicine (epilepsy)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism, healing drink following childbirth)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (wash for cuts, ulcers)	Root	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Food	Young shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple and compound
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (reduce fever, stop vomiting)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (bladder, blood purifier)	Plant	Compound
Medicine (infants, frail children)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple
Medicine (body pains)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Simple
Medicine (poultice for cuts)	Leaves, seeds	Simple

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF

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Botanical Name	Common Name
36. *Daucus carota*	Wild Carrot
37. *Dentaria diphylla*	Toothwort
38. *Diospyros virginiana*	Persimmon
39. *Epipactis pubescens*	Rattlesnake Plantain
40. *Eryngium aquaticum*	Button Snake-root
41. *Eupatorium perfoliatum*	Boneset
42. *Fragaria virginiana*	Strawberry
43. *Fraxinus americana*	White Ash
44. *Gaultheria procumbens*	Wintergreen
45. *Gaylussacia baccata*	Huckleberry
46. *Gelsemium sempervirens*	Yellow Jasmine
47. *Gentiana crinita*	Fringed Gentian
48. *Gleditsia triacanthos*	Honey Locust
49. *Hedeoma pulegioides*	False Pennyroyal
50. *Helianthemium canadense*	"Frost" or "ice" weed
51. *Humulus lupulus*	Hops
52. *Hydranga aborescens*	Sevenbark
53. *Ilex opaca*	Holly
54. *Inula helenium*	Elecampane
55. *Iris versicolor*	Blue Flag
56. *Juglans nigra*	Black Walnut
57. *Juniperus virginiana*	Red Cedar
58. *Leonurus cardiaca*	Motherwort
59. *Lobelia cardinalis*	Cardinal Flower
60. *Lophophora williamsii*	Peyote
61. *Mentha piperita*	Peppermint
62. *Mentha canadensis*	Wildmint
63. *Mitchella repens*	Partridge Berry
64. *Monarda punctata*	Horse Mint
65. *Morus nigra*	Mulberry
66. *Myrica sp.*	Bayberry
67. *Myrica asplenifolia*	Sweet Fern
68. *Nepeta cataria*	Catnip
69. *Opuntia vulgaris*	Prickly Pear
70. *Panax quinquefolium*	Ginseng

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (diabetes)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (scrofula, venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (poultice; female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (chills, fever)	Root	Simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Plant	Compound and simple
Food	Berries	
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (stomach; blood purifier)	Root	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (pain in stomach)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (strengthening)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (nerves)	Blossoms	Simple
Medicine (gallstones)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (rheumatism; liver; kidneys)	Root	Compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (rheumatism)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (typhoid)	Root	Simple
Medicine (consumption; periodic fits; emergency med. charm)	"Bean" or "Button"	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Leaves	Compound
Medicine (suppressed menses)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (fever)	Plant	Simple
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Medicine (poison ivy)	Leaves	Simple
Medicine (tonic for children)	Leaves with peach seed	
Not used		
Medicine (effective in any severe illness. Most potent med.)	Root	Simple and compound

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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	Botanical Name	Common Name
71.	*Phytolacca americana*	Poke
72.	*Pimpinella anisum*	Anise
73.	*Plantago major*	Plantain
74.	*Platanus occidentalis*	Plane Tree
75.	*Podophyllum peltatum*	May Apple
76.	*Populus sargentii*	Cottonwood
77.	*Prunella vulgaris*	Heal-all
78.	*Prunus americana*	Plum
79.	*Prunus persica*	Peach
80.	*Prunus serotina*	Wild Cherry
81.	*Pyrus communis*	Pear
82.	*Pyrus coronaria*	Crab Apple
83.	*Pyrus malus*	Apple
84.	*Quercus alba*	White Oak
85.	*Quercus macrocarpa*	Bur Oak
86.	*Quercus velutina*	Black Oak
87.	*Quercus palustris*	Pin Oak
88.	*Quercus rubra*	Red Oak
89.	*Radicula nasturtium-aquaticum*	Water Cress
90.	*Rhamnus caroliniana*	Buckthorn
91.	*Rhus copallina*	Dwarf Sumac
92.	*Rhus toxicondendron*	Poison Ivy
93.	*Rhus typhina*	Staghorn Sumac
94.	*Ribes rotundifolium*	Gooseberry
95.	*Ribes triste*	Swamp Currant
96.	*Rubus canadensis*	Thimble Berry
97.	*Rubus nigrobaceus*	Blackberry
98.	*Rubus villosus*	Blackberry
99.	*Rubus occidentalis*	Black Raspberry
100.	*Rumex acetosella*	Sheep Sorrel
101.	*Rumex crispus*	Dock
102.	*Rhumex obtusifolius*	Dock
103.	*Salix humilis*	Prairie Willow
104.	*Salix tristis*	Sage Willow, "Red Root"
105.	*Sambucus canadensis*	Elder

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Continued

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (rheumatism)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (cathartic)	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (poultice; also female disorder)	Leaves	Simple and compound
Medicine (colds, sore throat)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative; love charm)	Root	Simple
Medicine (female disorder)	Bark	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever)	Top	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (tonic)	Bark, Fruit	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (antiseptic)	Bark	Compound
Food	Nuts	
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (intestinal pains)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (hoarseness)	Bark	Compound
Root	Plant	
Medicine (cathartic)	Bark	Simple
Medicine (ceremonial tobacco mixture)	Leaves, Root	Simple
Medicine (salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (dysentery)	Vine, Berries	Compound
Berries used as food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Food	Plant	
Food	Plant	Simple and compound
Medicine (food)	Root, Young Shoots	
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (womb displacement; venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (salve) (fruit edible)	Bark, Berries	Simple Simple

PLANTS AND PLANT USES OF THE

	Botanical Name	Common Name
106.	*Sanguinaria canadensis*	Bloodroot
107.	*Sassafras albidum*	Sassafras
108.	*Scutellaria galericulata*	Skull Cap
109.	*Smilacina racemosa*	False Spikenard
110.	*Smilacina stellata*	False Solomon's Seal
111.	*Solanum dulcamera*	Bittersweet
112.	*Solanum nigrum*	Common Nightshade
113.	*Solidago juncea*	Goldenrod
114.	*Symplocarpus foetidus*	Skunk Cabbage
115.	*Stachys palustris*	Hedge Nettle
116.	*Taraxacum officinale*	Dandelion
117.	*Tsuga canadensis*	Hemlock
118.	*Typha latifolia*	Cat-tail
119.	*Ulmus americana*	American Elm
120.	*Vaccinium pennsylvanicum*	Lowbush Blueberry
121.	*Vaccinium corymbosum*	Highbush Blueberry
122.	*Verbascum thapsus*	Great Mullein
123.	*Verbena hastata*	Blue Vervain
124.	*Viburnum prunifolium*	Black Haw
125.	*Vitis* (various sp.)	Wild Grape
126.	*Vitis rupestris*	Wild Grape
127.	*Vitis vulpina*	Wild Grape
128.	*Xanthoxylum americanum*	Prickly Ash
129.	*Zea Mays*	Corn
130.	*Zea Mays identata*	Dent Corn
131.	*Zea Mays indurata*	Flint Corn
132.	*Zea Mays amylacea*	Flour Corn
133.	*Zea Mays saccharata*	Sweetcorn
134.	*Zea Mays everta*	Popcorn

OKLAHOMA DELAWARE—Concluded

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Native Use	Part of Plant Used	Type of Medicine
Medicine (tonic) ceremonial paint	Root	Simple and compound
Medicine (tonic)	Bark	Compound
Medicine (laxative)	Top	Simple
Medicine (tonic)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease, scrofula)	Root	Compound and simple
Medicine (fever, also in salve)	Root	Compound
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (diarrhea, fever)	Leaves (tea or chewed)	Simple
Medicine (whooping cough, fits, poultice)	Root, Leaves	Simple
Medicine (venereal disease)	Root	Compound
Medicine (tonic, laxative, food)	Root, Plant	Compound and simple
Medicine (herbal steam)	Twigs	Simple
Medicine (gravel in kidneys)	Root	Simple
Medicine (coughs, colds)	Bark	Simple
Food	Berries	
Food	Berries	
Medicine (rheumatism, colds)	Leaves	
Medicine (chills)	Root	Compound
Medicine (female generative organs)	Root	Compound
Food	Fruit	
Medicine (increase fertility)	Vine	Compound
Medicine (leucorrhea)	Juice from vine	Simple
Medicine (tonic, heart)	Bark	Simple and compound
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		
Food		

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177

Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

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The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

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[262]

For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

[227]

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

224

The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunt took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

used grooved axes hafted by tying the head between the ends of a split stick (Kalm, p. 229). The trees were then removed by burning (Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221; Kalm, p. 230). Zeisberger was told by his Indian acquaintances that, before they had metal tools, they also burned their wood into suitable lengths for use (Zeisberger, 1910, p. 29). After being cleared of rubbish and stones, the land was broken up with a hoe made of stone, tortoise shell, or the shoulder blade of a deer, attached to a short handle (Johnson, p. 279; Skinner, 1909, p. 42; Abbott, 1875, pp. 350 and 356; Loskiel, p. 67; Beaver, p. 47). The earth was piled into little hills in which five or six grains of maize were planted about April. In the middle of May when the maize was the "height of a finger", they planted in each heap three or four "Turkish beans,"[4] which then grew up with and were supported by the maize. Maize was a plant that needed frequent weeding and hoeing (De Razieres, p. 107; Johnson, p. 279; Harrington, 1913, p. 221).

There is no mention of the use of any kind of fertilizer by the Delaware, and early Swedish writers note that, "When a tract had been cultivated until crops would no longer grow, it was deserted and a new plantation prepared" (Johnson, p. 279). Therefore, in the present case there appears to be at least presumptive evidence for lack of fertilizing techniques.

In addition to the above-mentioned means of obtaining food, the Delaware Indians gathered various wild berries, nuts, fruits, and roots. Although many of the early references tend to be generic, one gathers that strawberries, gooseberries, huckleberries or billberries, cranberries and grapes were among the chief fruits used (Loskiel, pp. 68-69; Kalm, p. 261; Skinner, 1909, p. 43; Waugh, pp. 127-28), and the butternut, walnut, chestnut and hickory the most important nuts (Loskiel, pp. 70-71; Lindstrom, p. 223; Waugh, p. 123). In addition, Kalm found that early Swedish residents of New Jersey remembered the Indians having used Hopnies or ground nut (Glycine apios), Katnise (Sagittaria sagittifolia) and Taw-Ho (Arum virginicum).[5] This last was reputed to be poisonous in a raw state and so was placed in a hole covered with earth where it was cooked by a fire burning on top. They also boiled and ate the seeds of the Golden Club or Taw-Hoe (Orontium aquaticum) (Kalm, pp. 260-61). The use of roots is referred to by other authors although the terms used vary (Brinton, 1885, p. 50; Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 223; Skinner, 1909, p. 43).

Although there are no specific references to the making of maple syrup in early sources, all the later observers found maple sugar boiling an important activity and the properties of the maple were generally known and utilized on the east coast. It seems impossible that all the early writers would have overlooked the use of maple sap if it had been as important as it later became, but none of my sources mention it.

252
262 Flour was either ground between two stones or pounded in a mortar and pestle by the Delaware. The mortar was usually a hol-
[412] loved tree trunk, the pestle a suitably shaped stone (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, pp. 253-54; Abbott, 1875, p. 357; Kalm, p. 230).

276 Stone pottery and clay pipes have been uncovered on archae-
[323] ological sites. Lindstrom describes the Lenape pipes as beautifully
324 painted and glazed with birds and animals on the head. He says there are some "...an ell in length, which are screwed together with leather,...and in these pipe-heads will go a handful of tobacco" (Lindstrom, p. 197). These were presumably of European manufacture. The pipes which have been recovered from old sites are of a much humbler variety (Abbott, 1875, pp. 343-44; Skinner, 1909, p. 27; Butler, p. 249). This apparent inconsistency can be readily explained, however, by assuming that Lindstrom was referring to the calumets or peace pipes, which were relatively rare and would be likely to have been carried west by the owners when they moved (Kalm, pp. 231-32).

285 Some household items manufactured by the Delaware women were
[283] mats, ropes and baskets made from wild hemp, spruce roots, corn husks and rushes. The mats, which were sometimes painted or had figures worked in or over the weave, were hung on the walls for increased protection against the elements as well as to beautify the house (Smith, p. 138; Lindstrom, p. 221; Harrington, 1913, p. 224). They were also used as part of the bedding together with the skin or
287 turkey-feather robes which served as clothing during the day (Johnson, p. 280; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 203). The turkey-feather robes deserve special attention as they were evidently one of the most distinctive and beautiful of the Delaware's manufactures. Lindstrom says: "They also make fine and beautiful quilts of painted bird feathers. In the first place they tie them with meshes like nets, yet very fine; then they fasten the feathers in the meshes, so neat and strong that not one feather can come loose from it..." (Lindstrom, pp. 221-22). When there was a "bed," it consisted of a wooden
352 shelf running around the interior wall of the house and serving as a seat by day (Harrington, 1913, p. 218; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 17; Skinner, 1915, p. 7).

342 The most common type of Delaware house was a small hut consisting of a rectangular, gabled frame of saplings covered with bark or mats. Penn describes their houses thus: "Their Houses are Mats, or Bark of Trees set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a Man..." (Penn, p. 31). Some Delaware, however, constructed a house large enough to accommodate several families, the increase in size all deriving from greater length. The result was not unlike an Iroquois longhouse.[6] In the center of the house was one or more fires depending on the length of the building, and the ridge of the roof was arranged with an opening through which the smoke could

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

he comes to no harm. At each house the impersonator dismounts and enters, making known his errand by signs, but saying only "*Ho^{n}-ho^{n}-ho^{n}*," and everywhere they give him tobacco, which he puts in his sack. At this time the people frighten disobedient children with the threat that, unless they behave, the Mĭsi'ng^{w} will carry them away in a sack full of snakes.

Preparations.—The dance-ground customarily used for this purpose has meanwhile been put in order, a cleared place in the woods selected for good shade and pleasant surroundings, and the logs which serve as seats arranged to form the rectangle within which the dance takes place. A great pot of hominy is also prepared; this constitutes the main dish of the feast.

The Ceremony.—When the people have gathered on the night appointed, and the impersonator has returned from the bushes where he retired to dress, wearing the mask and bearskin suit (pl. II), the speaker addresses the people and relates the origin of the dance, then addressing the Mĭsi'ng^{w}, says, "Take care of us

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

us. Now, kindred, this is the way in which we can take action, first one person's idea then another's saying "This one is better." But at last when it had been pondered in council it was declared that we should make two corn husk face-masks, and a coat and leggings all of cornhusks. Now at each change of the years we shall gather and carry out a way so that certain people will be selected who will own and control this ceremony. 796x 539 773

Two men are chosen who shall wear the excrement-daubers' costume, to go through the neighborhood for a few days. They notify the people that now according to the rulings is the time for the ceremony by that individual who has charge of the Corn Festival ceremony, and when anyone is encountered, as they ride about on horseback, who shall give nothing to them infallibly he shall be rubbed over with excrement because that is the established ruling. 796x 539

Now in about one week they gather together for what the Delawares call the Excrement-dauber dance. Long ago there were men who knew these songs that were required. And they used to have ushers. Here all kinds of food were used, but especially hominy made very thin; cooked hominy is what was offered with the prayer when they were pleading with our "mother" Corn. As long as he was living the controller of the ceremony would carry it out. Then when he reached the end of his life his children handed it down from then on according to relationship. [262]

Here now when the dance was beginning there were women and men who did the cooking. And now when it was midnight they would stop and pass around the food to eat, the master of the ceremony his kindred and also the ushers passing the food around. So when they had finished eating then they began dancing again, because it was the rule to dance until morning.

Then the old person appointed to do the talking would say, "Now that we see daylight we are very thankful indeed because we see our elder brother (the sun) as he again gives us light all over the world. And it is grand when we are in good spirits after dancing all night long with her who is our

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

where they either catch them with their hands or shoot it.[5] Otherwise, they also shoot it in deep water, where they can find it, and thus they obtain fish of all kinds, that are found there in abundance, spending [nothing] on either seines, nets or any fishing implements. Consequently the nourishment of the savages thus consists of agriculture, hunting, shooting, fishing, trade and the manufacture of their neat wares, concerning which we shall be informed hereafter.[6]

[5] The fish. Cf. also note 1, above, quoting Williams; Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 461 ff.

[6] See below, Chapt. XIX.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

572 table and crosses his legs and requests then of the
574 food on the table which he fancies. But when one
516 gives strong drinks to the savage, either wine or
[271] brandy, which he desires greatly, one must take
273 care not to give him too much, for then he becomes as though he were quite raving, throws and rolls himself into the burning fire, with a loud cry, and may then easily strike his good friend to death or otherwise set fire to the house, not knowing what he does; for he is not accustomed to such strong drinks. His daily drink is with the goose,[4] which holds his five senses together.

572 But when now the Christians come to the sav-
574 ages in their dwellings then the savages spread frieze and beautiful rugs on the ground, requesting them to sit down to rest. Then they bring forth such food as they have [on hand], namely a
● [262] bag full of their bread, deer meat, elk meat and bear meat, fresh fish, bear pork and bear fat,[5] instead of butter; but this[6] is mostly raw, for they do not fry it any other way than on the coals (about which we shall learn further hereafter in the chapter concerning the household economy of the savages). This present one must not disdain, but accept with all thankfulness and praise, otherwise the savages will become very raving and impatient, so that their friendship is thereby turned into the greatest revenge and enmity. If one has any horse along, then the savages place the same kind of food before it also, which one must steal away from the horse, and thank the savage for

[4] His daily drink is the same as that of the goose, that is water.
[5] *Björnsister.*
[6] Food, i.e., meat and fish.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

CHAPTER XXVII.

Concerning the Household Economy of the American Savage People, Their Thrashing, Their Grinding, Their Baking, Their Frying and Cooking.

In this connection [*it may be said*] *that there* is found no scarcity of provisions among the savages, for the support of their household, but [they are] miserable cooks, they never cook good dishes.[1] They use no cattle. They do not need to thrash their grain, the maize; but when it gets ripe and dry, then they rub the ears between their hands and brush off the kernels. Their larders they dig down in the ground, close to their dwellings, wherein they have their maize, their beans, tobacco and other provisions, such as deer-meat, elk-meat, bear-meat, birds, fish and other such things, which may serve for the sustenance of man, but the bear pork as well as wild-boar pork and its fat they melt and use instead of butter.[2]

They use no querns,[3] but the meal for baking they pound asunder with a pestle and mortar, which they make in this manner, that for the purpose they cut a thick and large tree, 1½ ells from

[1] *Godha rättier.* For the food of the Indians, see Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.*, 2, I, 192 ff.; II, 263 ff.; III, 95, 104 ff.

[2] Cf. Van der Donck and other early Dutch writers.

[3] *Quarnar bruka the inthet.* In connection with the agriculture of the Indians Williams says: They "fell their trees with stone set in a wooden staff, and used wooden howes; which some old and poore women (fearfull to leave the old tradition) use to this day." *Key*, 130.

| | | |

+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	−	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	−	+	+	+
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Neat in their cooking			−	S	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		•+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+				+	+	+	•	−
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	+		+
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−			
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	•
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			+	+	+	+
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+			•	+	•	•
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	+	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	•	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+					+	+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317. Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side 755
of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five [265]
days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been 266
denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of [784]
famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes with whom they were in contact from early historic times and before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine. These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström) and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig- [727]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

222 staple of more northern tribes, wild rice, apparently never figured
262 in the diet of the Delaware, although W. T. claimed that it did (299). Little use seems to have been made of grasses or greens, but there is no suggestion that this avoidance was the result of a taboo.

264 Information on the regularity of meals among the Delaware is not conclusive (300). Van der Donck reported no regular meals in the first period, Heckewelder the reverse in the second period; but both Johnston and Chipps in the third period stated there were no regular meal times. In the fourth period three informants claimed regularity of meals for their ancestors as well as themselves; whereas the fourth, W. L., said that even when he was a boy there was always something to eat for the grownups and they ate when they felt like it. Chipps said that they ate in the night as often as in the day, but the other sources and informants denied this and maintained that it was only the hunter or traveler who returned at night that received anything to eat (306).

Men and women usually ate together according to the reports from all periods (302). Both J. W. and W. L. in the fourth period stated that children did not eat with the rest of the family (301). At some meals the children ate after the adults, who left them the amounts and parts of the food that they should eat. The last meal in the day for children was about four or five o'clock. From then on until the next morning they could have only water.

252 The question of neatness in cooking is a relative one (303). Lindeström and Johnston did not think they were neat at all. Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and Chipps, on the other hand, said that cleanliness was an individual matter but that on the whole the Delaware were much neater than many other tribes. The difference between Indian and white methods of cooking in the centuries past was probably much greater than the difference between the two now.

Van der Donck reported in the first period that boiling was the only mode of cooking meat used by the Indians (304). Since this was contradicted by Lindeström who wrote at practically

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

the same time, there is no reason to suspect that the several cooking modes reported in all subsequent periods were the result of European introduction. On the other hand, Lindeström's statement that the Delaware preferred their fish only half fried finds no support in the information from the following periods (305). Zeisberger and all the modern informants said that meats were preferred well done. In this connection J. W. expressed the opinion of all the modern informants when he said that foods from the open air (not canned), cooked in clean water or well done in an open fire were clean and best.

When the Delaware were living on the Atlantic Coast, fish formed an important part of their diet, according to Van der Donck and Lindeström (307). Apparently every kind available in any particular locality was eaten. The reports of all subsequent periods also show an absence of taboo on particular kinds of fish, with the exception of J. W., and he could not name the varieties not eaten. Captain Chipps reported that some did not eat sturgeon, others catfish, but more as a matter of individual taste than because of a taboo.

Hunting

The bow and arrow was, of course, the common weapon used in hunting in prehistoric times and well remembered even today, although its utility as a meat-procuring arm has long been lost (308).

The surprising item in the list of arms used by the Delaware is the firearm (309). Even though every European colony on the Atlantic Coast protested the sale of firearms to the natives by the other colonies, and subordination of the Delaware to the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century was attributed to the fact that the latter were supplied earlier with firearms, we find two references to the rather common use of guns in hunting by the Delaware in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The blowgun was reported among the Canadian Delaware or Munsee of 1824 by Captain Chipps (310). At that time it was used by hunters to kill small game and birds. Poisoned darts were not mentioned. The three older informants among the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 CAPTAIN PIPE—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, 262
wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me
along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. 867
Then if they think I should be out they tell me "go out there and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him —pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you, give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful. To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water, go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away. But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something. Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip [861]
to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, [291]
breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as ɔ'pigw "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nuic, awe'nuic of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxke) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

III

SECOND NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

[The procedure of the second night's performance follows that of the first night as respects the recitations by those who desire to chant their visions and to discourse.]

Here now, when the last Reciter-Leader has finished, and when they have swept the House well, then the other male Attendants bring inside the Big House the hominy.[1] Everyone eats the hominy in company. Each and all of the women comes bringing a dish to dip it out with. The Attendant has authority to give out the amount allotted to each, so it is said. The boys carry mussel-shells[2] which are used the same as when spoons are used. Now when everyone has eaten his share of the hominy, he feels happy for it, because the Bringer-in always says that this grain-food brings a spiritual blessing of strength when we set out to appeal to our common Father in the sky above. These Attendants first set apart a portion for each individual in his dish, because that is strictly understood to be the rule since long ago in the beginning of the world.[3]

THIRD NIGHT OF THE CEREMONY

Thanks be given, my kindred that still we are blessed with good fortune. Now it is the third evening since here we have performed the ceremony in our temple-house. Now we beg, everyone of us, at his utmost that we may be favored by the pure spirit-force, by him the mask-spirit[4] because he is the one who owns and controls all the wild animals.[5] Now tomorrow morning all must be ready to accompany the

[1] sa'pag, "boiled corn" was a cereal staple in the diet of the eastern Algonkian wherever they lived. The term is cognate with New England Algonkian sampi which has passed into English. (For discussion of the term, its history and application see A. F. Chamberlain, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnology, part II, p. 422).

[2] The single shell of the fresh-water mussel (Unio companatus in the east, U. gibbosus, in the west) employed as a spoon is ees-e'm'hon.

[3] The procedure of the subsequent three nights in the Big House is about the same as that recorded for the first. The same speakers recite their visions. The rites of sweeping and feasting are repeated similarly.

One might ask what the worshippers do to while away the day-time between the strenuous night performances besides procuring some much needed rest. Custom permits them to indulge in native games, mention of which will be found on page 69.

[4] Something has already been said of the mask-spirit as the guardian of game animals (p. 39). This man-it'-u is now to be made the object of worship in a pantomime of some importance.

[5] Herein lies a concept ripe for elaboration, since the doctrine of ownership of game animals is a fundamental one in the cosmology of the Algonkian hunters of the north, whose culture has been assumed to be fundamental to the family (see pp. 39-41).

[#57(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The
[346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the
[614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one
[346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 When they are assembled two singers [?]
533 sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and
[534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance
[535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 Before the festival 12 hunters are sent
[262] out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise